1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

fact, a diviner necessarily gives up his divining if he becomes a *palol*.[1]

Each of the *teuol* is believed to be possessed by a special god when he falls into the divining frenzy, and when in this state it is said that the diviner does not, as a rule, speak in his own language, but in some other, most commonly in Malayalam or one of its dialects. The following are those who are at present credited with the power of divination :—

Midjkudr (63) of Piedr, who is inspired by the gods Kulinkars and Petkon. He speaks in Malayalam, and he does not appear to have succeeded anyone else as *teuol*. He is the most successful of those who are at present practising the art, and played the chief part in all the divining which took place during my visit.

Tadrners (60) of Kuudr, inspired by Ethrol and Arivili, succeeded his mother's father, Kasorivan (66) of Kusharf. He is said to speak the language of people whom the Todas call Mondardsetipol living in the Wainad, a language which appears to be a dialect of Malayalam.

Pangudr (66) of Kusharf, also succeeded Kasorivan, his grandfather, and is inspired by Petkon and Meilitars. There was some doubt as to the language used by him.

Ethgudr (52) of Kuudr is inspired by Arivili, and, like Tadrners, speaks the language of the Mondardsetipol.

Terkudr (63) of Piedr, inspired by Teipakh, the river god, succeeded his grandfather Keitolv. When inspired, his speech is like the babbling of a running river, "like the river's voice," and cannot be understood.

Kangudr (62) of Piedr, who lives at Kavidi in the Wainad, is inspired by Meilitars and speaks Malayalam. He succeeded Tarsvan (62), his father, and Tarsvan had succeeded his father Keithiolv.

Kobuv (61) of Kuudr, is inspired by Meilitars and Kuderol and speaks Malayalam.

Pöteners (54) of Kuudr, is inspired by Petkon and speaks the language of the Mondardsetipol.

[1] From the account of Finicio (Appendix I), it would seem that at one time the *palol* and *wurtol* possessed the power of divination.

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Karkievan (63), the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, was formerly a *teuol*, but gave up divining when he became *palol*. 191 198

All the above belong to the Teivaliol, and the only Tarthar diviner at the present time is Mongudrvan (13) of Kars. He is said to be inspired by the god of Miuni village, and to speak the Toda language. The village of Miuni belongs to the Teivaliol, so that the only Tarthar diviner is inspired by a god connected with the division to which the majority of the diviners belong. 787 791

Two other Tarthar men, Kerveidi (5) and Tevò (3), both of Nòdrs, are said to have been *teuol* at one time, but they have ceased to divine. They succeeded another man of their clan. Kangudr, who is inspired by Meilitars, has to 'dance' or divine before the Kurumbas, and when he does so he dances as a lame man. This custom is reputed to have come down from the time of Meilitars (see p. 210), who danced as a lame man before the Kurumbas, and promised that whenever he came in the future he would dance to the Kurumbas first and then to the Todas. 177 787 791 198 776

It will be noticed that many of the deities by whom the diviners are inspired are not true Toda gods. Petkon, who inspires Midjkudr, Pangudr, and Pöteners, is said to be a hunting god. According to some he was a son of Teikirzi, but is almost certainly not a true Toda deity.

Arivili inspires Tadrners and Ethgudr, who are both reputed to speak the language of the Mondardsetipol, and he is probably a god of these people, a tribe of the Wainad. Ethrol, who also inspires Tadrners, is probably another deity of the same people. I do not know anything about Kuderol, by whom Kobùv is believed to be inspired.

It is noteworthy that the only existing Tarthar *teuol* speaks the Toda language when divining, and is believed to be inspired by a local Toda god; while the diviners belonging to the Teivaliol seem to speak dialects of Malayalam, and many are believed to be inspired by gods who are almost certainly not true Toda deities.

The *teuol* are consulted whenever any misfortune befalls a Toda. The following are various instances in which I have records of resort to divination: sickness or death of a Toda 787 791

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126 194 doubtful whether to write the name Piliodz in this way or as Pilioz or Piliodj (the three English equivalents would be the sounds of Dods, Boz and Dodge).

The sounds *s* and *sh* are often inserted euphonically; thus, the name Kuriolv is as often as not pronounced Kursiolv, and, more rarely, Kurshiolv.

Sacred Language

192 198 There are three varieties of sacred language in use among the Todas. There is the *kwarzam*, the word or clause used in prayer and other sacred formulæ; secondly, there are certain words and phrases peculiar to the *ti* dairy, and thirdly, there are certain words called by the Todas, *teu* language, which are only used in the legends of the gods.

The *kwarzam* is used especially for the names of gods, persons or objects used in the first portions of the prayers. It is also used in the magical formulæ and in the funeral laments, but it may be that the last use is only due to an extension of the strict meaning of the term. When I began to collect the prayers, I hoped that the *kwarzam* might turn out to belong to some ancient and otherwise forgotten language, but their general nature is evidently the same as that of other Toda words. The *kwarzam* arises either by a slight modification of a name in ordinary use or as a phrase recording some historical or mythical incident.

I give here a short list of *kwarzam* which, with a few exceptions, have not occurred elsewhere. The following are the *kwarzam* of the Tarthar clans:—

The Nòdrsol, *Nòdrstharkûtthars*; the Karsol, *Kârstharkunnadrpêdr*; the Panol, *Pandârpeshdthvaimokh*; the Taradrol, *Pülkudutharpeithar*; the Keradrol, *Kerâdrtharkerâdrkûtan*; the Kanòdrsol, *Munantharpinnantho*; the Kwòdrdoniol, *Adutharathiars*; the Pämol, *Pämûtharkathar*; the Melgarsol, *Narzthar*. The *kwarzam* of the Kuudrol is *Ivikanmokhkûtmeilteu* (see p. 101), but the other Teivali clans have no such special names.

The only one of the above, of which the meaning is quite

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clear, is that of Pan, in which case the *kwarzam* gives the names of the two *kudr* of the clan (see p. 652). The latter part of the *kwarzam* of the Keradrol means a horn or son of Keradr, and is also the name of a man, and with further knowledge there is little doubt that the other *kwarzam* would be found to have some meaning.

The following are the *kwarzam* of the buffaloes of the different clans:—

Nòdrs, *karûdchtrkündkh*; Kars, *indtvidshti indtvan*;[1] Pan and Taradr, *Mutchôthvanmodathokvan*; Keradr, *miniaptr mdvelkar*; Kanòdrs, *Tirztashkkarnikunp*; Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi, *Keitankeikar*; Päm, *Arzomolkutchi*; Melgars, *Narzulpnatülnndkh*; Kuudr and Pedrkars, *Kishvettarskvan*; Piedr, *Kûsherikwelvpurserthunm*; Kusharf, *Nulkarstrnashuv*; Keradr, *Nelppdrstrkudeipar*; Kulhem, *Pelthrtrkan*.

The *kwarzam* of the Keradr buffaloes refers to the tradition of their creation (see p. 192), and here again with further knowledge there is little doubt that most of the *kwarzam* would be found to have a definite meaning, probably derived from legends concerning the buffaloes or the villages to which they belong.

The second kind of sacred language, in use at the *ti* dairies, has been already considered. Every kind of dairy vessel or other object used in the dairy ceremonial has a name at the *ti* different from that used in the house or village dairy. These different names have been given in describing the dairy ceremonial, but I have not hitherto referred to certain other differences of language, especially in verbal forms. Different words are used in the two kinds of dairy for the verb 'to drink'; thus, when a village dairyman orders another to drink buttermilk, he says "*Maj ân!*" while at the *ti* the *palol* says "*Kaishvat!*" This latter formula is interesting in that *kaish* is not the usual *ti* word for buttermilk (*nodr*) and only occurs, as far as I can ascertain, in conjunction with the verb *vat*. A village dairyman uses the verb *part*, pray, while at the *ti*, the verb *pôhvetnört* is used. Thus the question "have you prayed?" would be "*partikudricha?*" at the village and "*pôhvetnörtikudricha?*" at the *ti*. Similarly

[1] See story of Kwoto.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

192 different forms of the verb 'to milk' are used. "We have
198 milked" at the village would be "*ṛrkartkudrvispimi*," often shortened into *ṛrkartspimi*, while at the *ti* "*karvukkudrivispimi*" would be said; "we have not milked" would be "*ṛrkarami*" at the village and "*ṛrkarpûkhami*" at the *ti*.

There are certain verbs used at the *ti* dairy which may only be pronounced by ordinary people in the third person. A good example is the verb *nört*, and it will be noticed that the names of ceremonies in which this verb is used have always been given in the third person, *ïrnörtiti*, and never in the first person plural as in the case of most other ceremonies.

About the third kind of sacred language, I know very little. It will have been noticed that the words and sentences which are used in the legends of Chapter IX are unlike those which occur elsewhere, and I was especially told that certain words only occurred in the stories of the gods. A special instance given was that of the words "*tar tïrzhodthrska*" (see p. 201), where *tar*[1] was said to be the *teu* word for 'man.' The words *kwudrpedrshai* and *kaipedrshai* in the same legend were given as other examples of *teu* language.

Secret Language

177 The Todas have a large number of expressions which they
198 use in the presence of Badagas, Tamils and others when they wish to be understood only by themselves. Many of the
195 Badagas and Tamils with whom the Todas associate no doubt pick up some knowledge of their language, and even if this were not the case, the Toda language is sufficiently like Tamil to enable a stranger to understand part of what is said. In consequence the Todas have adopted a secret code for use among themselves which they call *kalikatpimi*, literally "stolen we tie," while in distinction the ordinary language is called *itherkelv* or "front fact."

[1] The last syllable of the name Meilitars given to Kwoto is probably this word, so that the name means 'superior man.'

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The following are the chief instances of which I was told. 195 198

Ordinary Language.	Secret Language.
Pârshk ntr at kwadr! Milk to water mix give. *i.e.*, give milk mixed with water.	*Nonk nâr pudvaink* Four sides which came from *kagîr pârs at kwadr!* old buffalo milk mix give! *i.e.*, give milk mixed with what comes from the four teats of an old buffalo.
Pârs âdr milk cook *i.e.*, cook food in milk!	*Nonk nâr pud mûdn tarsk* Four sides come three on up *idhkt!* put *i.e.*, Put what comes from the four teats upon the three (stones of the oven).
Târ tidshia? Have you taken food?	*Kâtû nârth kershia?* Teeth between did you throw?
At vokh! There (or away) go!	*At erd af!* There (or away) two (legs) get!
Iren akaik nd! The buffalo in the wood hide!	*kûdr valupoi târs ûlâr kî!* Horn crooked wood into go!
Kan odthi? Is he not blind?	*Kûdren pom odthinû* Black fruit has he not?

When a man is thought to be dying, the Todas may ask "Is this man going from one place to another?"

Whenever a Toda first sees a man, he looks at his feet, and, correspondingly, when a Toda asks another his opinion of a man, he says "*Kal pel ilûdinû*," "What sort of leg and nail has he?" In secret language the leg may be called *metipol*, "walk thing," also used for footprints or *pûmi ûlâr pî pol*, "thing that goes into the earth."

Many other things and persons have secret names; thus, a rupee, or money generally, is called *atchertvai*, that which is stamped; butter is called *pelthpol* or white thing; clarified butter (*nei*) is called *kârtpol* or melted thing; sugar and honey are called *tichedpol* or sweet thing; rice is called *peitpudvai*, that which comes from Peit, a place near Kavidi in the Wainad from which rice used to be procured; arrack (*saraim*) is called *ârthpol* or *pûshetpol*, each meaning "drink thing." The sun is called *etûdol*, "great man."

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

101 The various tribes on the hills have secret names; thus,
551 both Badagas and Tamils are called *tutâr katvai*, he who wears or ties the turban; a Kota is called *kîmas ithvai*, he who is beneath; a Kurumba is called *âr kârthpol*, the man who watches the way; a European is called *pelthpol*, or white man. A forest guard is called *petuni ütvai*, *petuni* being here used as a term for uniform, so that if a forest guard has come, they will say, *petuni ütvai podvuchi*.

195 Several of the words used in the secret language do not
198 appear to have any other meaning and are not ordinarily used. Thus the ordinary word for tooth is *pars*, but in secret language *kâtô* or *kâtû* is used. This word is the name of the wall of a buffalo-pen and it is possible that it may mean stones, but I could not ascertain whether this was the derivation, and could only learn that it was another word for tooth. Similarly the ear, of which the ordinary name is *kevi*, is called *pertars*, and the question "Did you wear gold earrings?" becomes *pertarsk ütshia*? "to ear did you wear?"

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

they have no sanctity whatever. A Teivali man who, while holding office as *palol*, is so sacred that he may not be touched by nor touch anyone, and may be visited even by his nearest relatives on two days of the week only, becomes an ordinary person, with absolutely no restrictions on intercourse, the moment he ceases to hold office.

Further, the fact that the Teivaliol hold these sacred offices does not lead to any respect being shown by Tartharol towards Teivaliol; there is not the slightest trace of the belief that their right to exert the highest priestly functions gives the Teivaliol any superiority, nor, it seemed clear to me, did the right inspire the Teivaliol themselves with any feeling of superiority. Indeed, it was distinctly the other way. The Tartharol always boasted that they were the superior people and that the Teivaliol were their servants, and the Teivaliol always seemed to me to acquiesce, though unwillingly, in this opinion. Whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he regarded his division as superior, he always answered, "We have the *ti* and we appoint the Teivaliol to act as our servants." In the case of the Teivali dairyman acting as *wursol* at the Tarthar villages, I had definite evidence in more than one instance that the priest was regarded as a paid servant, to be treated with scant respect except in the special points prescribed by custom. The fact that the Teivali dairyman living at a Tarthar village may not touch any of the Tartharol puts him very much at the mercy of the latter, and the dairyman has, so far as I know, no redress for any wrong, real or fancied, which he may receive.

The inferiority of the Teivaliol came out in one very striking point to which I shall return later. I learnt from the Tartharol that there were certain differences in language between the two divisions; that the Teivaliol used certain words as names of objects which were not used by the Tartharol. I obtained a list of these, and later approached a Teivali man on the matter. When I opened the subject he was very much taken aback, and then became very angry because I had been told of the difference, though its existence was not denied. His whole attitude was that of a man ashamed of his lowly origin. Far more indignation was

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

198 shown by him and by other Teivaliol because I had been
616 told of their peculiarities of language than was ever shown
554 after the exposure of deeds distinctly immoral even from the Toda point of view. I shall return to this subject again shortly; I mention it here because it seemed to me to afford the clearest evidence that the Teivaliol were conscious of their own inferiority in the social scale.

616 In the story of Kwoten we find that the Tarthar hero is accompanied by Erten of Keadr, a Teivali man, and the latter was said to have been the servant of the former. This suggests the possibility that at one time the Teivaliol may have acted as servants to the Tartharol, even more definitely than at present.

184 At the present time there are some features of the social
616 organisation and social life which might be held to weigh
623 strongly against the idea that the Teivaliol are the inferior division. The *monegar* of the Todas is one of the Teivaliol,
177 and the most influential member of the *naim*, or council, at the present time is a Teivali man. I believe the monegarship,
651 however, to be a recent institution, possibly dating only from the advent of Europeans to the hills. The chief duty of the *monegar* is the collection of the assessment made by the Government, and it is quite consistent with Toda ideas that this troublesome, and from their point of view menial duty
176 should be handed over to one of the Teivaliol. The great
184 power of the Teivaliol in the *naim* is probably still more
616 recent and due to the influence of one man. The Teivaliol should have only one representative on the *naim*, while the
623 Tartharol should have three, and it is entirely owing to the powerful personality of Kuriolv that this balance has been disturbed, and that the influence of the Teivaliol is so predominant. It is possible that Kuriolv will do much to obliterate the social inequality of the two divisions, though I suspect from what the Todas told me that it is intended to revert to the old order as soon as he dies.

184 There is one custom which shows very clearly that it is
234 only as dairymen that the Teivaliol have any sanctity. If the
616 sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of the Teivaliol go to a Tarthar village, they may be milked either at a *wursuli* or a *tarvali*, and the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

that there is a close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam, minus its Sanscrit derivatives. 174

The Todas claim that their diviners, who, when in their frenzy, are believed to be inspired by the gods, speak the Malayalam language, some clans speaking a language which the Todas say is that of people they call Mondardsetipol, living in Malabar. I do not know whether the Toda claim is justified, but in any case the belief exists that the diviners speak the languages of Malabar, and that these are the languages of the gods. It is possible that in their beliefs concerning the language of the gods the Todas may be preserving a tradition of their mother-tongue, and if it could be proved that the diviners actually speak the Malayalam language the link with Malabar would be very materially strengthened.[1] 197 198

The Todas believe that their dead travel towards the West and are able to describe the paths by which they pass. Here, again, there is some reason to think that people may preserve in their beliefs about the passing to the next world a tradition of the route by which their ancestors travelled from a former home, and this may be so in the case of the Todas. 174 775

Another fact linking the Todas with Malabar is the use of the tall pole called *tadri* in the funeral ceremonies. This pole is procured for the Todas from the Malabar side of the hills by the Kurumbas, and I was told that suitable poles only grew in Malabar, and the pole is adorned with cowries which are also probably of Malabar origin. Other objects burnt at the funeral, such as the boxes called *pettei* and the umbrella called *miturkwadr*, are also procured from Malabar. The use of objects in funeral ceremonies which are procured from Malabar is suggestive, though, taken alone, it would have little significance. 174 177 437

A fact which would perhaps be regarded by most as more important is that there is now a settlement of the Todas at Gudalur in the Wainad, on one of the routes from Malabar to the Nilgiris. It seems clear that at one time the settlement 101 361 174

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that at present only Teivali diviners are reputed to speak Malayalam.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XIII.

chief gift of the Gods: and the fountain of all milk. Hence they hold the care and milking of these animals and the charge of the dairy, to be amongst the highest and most respected offices. The buffalo is treated with great kindness, even with a degree of adoration, by the people; scarcely touched with the light wands they carry, but guided and called by a sort of buffalo-language which they understand, and obey with some intelligence.

But they give away the young bulls to the Kotas. It has been a question whether or not they ever eat the flesh themselves, and I experienced much difficulty in ascertaining what I now believe to be the truth; that they part with the bulls, because, whilst they will not eat the flesh, they cannot permit them to crowd on land required for the grazing of the cows. That they do not sell them, may no doubt be in part attributable to the uncommercial nature of their dispositions. But I think it also possible that the Badagas and Kotas work on the sense of respect for the animal, which the Todas are known to entertain, to make it a custom not to dispose of the buffalo for money. Although it is certain that no Toda will eat buffalo flesh unless in part of the ceremonial described in Chapter VIII., yet, curiously enough, they do not hesitate to mortgage even the cows to the Badagas, though knowing that in such an act, the chance must always exist of the animal's being seized for the non-fulfilment of the terms of the bond; when of course it would be impossible to say what would become of them.

There exists a marked connection between the buffalo and the chief material objects to which any form of religious service is paid; viz., certain ancient cattle-bells, which originally came from amnôr, and though only cattle-bells—konku—yet by virtue of a great antiquity are now venerated as Gods, and styled konku Dêr or mani Dêr.[1] This is the Toda faith.

Every village drove does not own a bell, but certain bell-

[1] Konku dêr = *bell-god*, mani dêr = *relic-god*. See Chapter XVII., note 6.